THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Ethics and the Politician

Stephen K. Bailey

The All-Purpose Nixon Speech

A Ghostwriter's Ghostwriter

Russia and China—Uneasy Allies

Walter Z. Laqueur

Poetry vs. Engineering

Stephen Spender

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Short Change in Congress

★ America is more liberal than its Congress. American social legislation doesn't lag 20 years behind Canada's or England's because the public opposes it but because of Congress. The conservative press would fall in line if the liberal majority could work its will in the legislature. Conservatism in Congress goes back primarily to its composition and procedure.

Consider, for example, the disenfranchised. Three or four million Negroes and poor whites can't vote in the South; when they do Washington will change. Four or five million itinerants are normally disenfranchised by rigid state registration laws which tend to emphasize property and the status quo. The big city of Washington has no vote whatsoever.

Then again, gerrymanders and rotten boroughs short-change the expanding urban areas. Rural areas, normally conservative, probably have 25 to 30 undeserved seats in the House. The Senate, of course, is constitutionally apportioned to let big empty states outnumber industrialized populous states. Even so the Senate is less conservative than the House. Why? Because a Senator is elected on a broad, state-wide basis while the typical House member comes from the court-house crowd in a rural community for a brief 2-year term. He never gets perspective.

Inside Congress the one-party South has worked out the seniority system, the filibuster and the Rules Committee, to throttle progress. The South was a lonely, unhappy Cinderella at Los Angeles and Chicago, but back in Congress she has all sorts of glass slippers to put on in the way of procedure.

This new session will be different, however, in one respect. It will operate under spotlights. Leaders of the two US parties will dramatically confront each other right in the legislative chamber, just as they do in the British parliament, and the record made will dominate the election. A good show means good coverage. Most obstacles to liberal legislation in Congress come from simple public boredom arising from stupefying procedure. The next four weeks won't be boring, anyway.

At Chicago Eisenhower offered as an "irrefutable truth" that the United States is enjoying "unprecedented prosperity." The odd thing is that a number of economists think we are headed for another recession, or have been in one since January. Eisenhower offered as "proof" of prosperity that there are more Americans employed at higher wages than ever before. Well, of course there are. There are 3 million more Americans born every year so if more of their parents aren't employed, with larger aggregate take-home pay, things would be very bad indeed. Eisenhower cited as a triumph that in the past seven and a half years annual Gross National Product had "increased by one hundred million dollars – or 25 percent." So what? That works out at around 3 percent a year, compounded annually – just what all the complaint is about! It ought to be 5 percent.

On the Brink

★ Writing in the *London Financial Times*, able MIT economist Paul A. Samuelson points out that US *unemployment* continues at 5 percent or more; "that even the optimists do not expect us in the year ahead to reach anything like the 4 percent rate of real growth that is universally admitted to be within our powers," and that there may be "a fundamental clash in the American economy between the goal of high employment and growth and the goal of price stability." According to all the old-fashioned methods of business cycle forecasting (which may not be applicable to the present situation), Samuelson adds, "I should have to state . . . the evidence is strong that we are now on the brink of a recession, if indeed we have not been in one since January."

It is entertaining and educational to compare Eisenhower's rosy account to the enraptured Republicans with the stories appearing daily in the financial pages of decreased earnings, reduced steel production and declining markets, and to note, too, the growing list of anti-recession actions by the Reserve Board and Federal agencies to keep Eisenhower's "unprecedented prosperity" from sagging any further.

The Growth Issue

★ There is a real economic issue, we think, in this election, one of the biggest in years. Back in the 30's the government accepted responsibility for applying social control over the business cycle; now the Democrats formally propose to put social control over the rate of national growth, which implies control over allocation of the national product. In the Thirties some denied that the government could, or should, try to control the business cycle, it was something much better left to the interplay of the market and to free enterprise. But today it would be unthinkable for government to let another 1929 occur.

Today – a new necessity appears. Republicans say they want to stimulate growth too, but they object to active government intervention and the growth they principally want is in the private sector. "As I understand an economy," said Eisenhower's top economist, "its ultimate purpose is to produce more consumer goods. This is the object of everything we are working at: to produce things for consumers . . ." Rarely is the view spoken as crudely as this, but it represents the basic prejudice of conservatives; take care of the deodorants and the public schools will take care of themselves.

It is not merely the Soviet Union whose Gross National Product is growing faster than ours; from 1950 to 1957 Japan's economy grew 8.5 percent a year; West Germany's 8 percent; Italy, France, the Netherlands, Mexico and Holland all grew from 4.5 to 5.5. This compares with the Soviet postwar rate of 6 percent and America's of only about 4 percent. (The figures are from a Republican – Nelson Rockefeller.) Frank acceptance by Democrats of the need of greater social control is a development of the greatest importance.

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Campaigning in Congress

In 1948, Harry Truman brought the Democrats who had just nominated him to their feet, cheering, by calling on Congress to reassemble in special session immediately. On Turnip Day (that day of the year on which turnips are planted in Missouri, rain or shine), July 26, he proposed programs for civil rights, housing and inflation control, including minimum wage and excess profits measures. When the session adjourned 13 days later, however, the "do nothing" title of the 80th Congress remained unblemished. The Rules Committee had refused to allow a vote on economic measures in the House, and Taft Republicans had helped Southern Democrats filibuster the Truman civil rights program to death in the Senate.

Prospects are brighter for at least some concrete achievement in the special session now convening. The political factors dominant in the present equation dictate a bare minimum of action by the Democrats quite as much as inaction, smothered in rhetoric, by the Republicans. Stuck with a session they never for a moment wanted, the Nixon campaign managers are preparing to make the best of a bad situation. Their problem is to hold the door open to those voters who were attracted by the progressive words in parts of the Republican platform while holding onto the conservative majority of GOP organization men and financial angels. The Vice President hopes to circumvent the problem altogether, he indicated in his first post-nomination press conference, by bowing respectfully before Dwight Eisenhower's reminder that he will still be President for another six months. "The question as to what the Congress should consider," Nixon announced, "should be one that the President should determine . . . If I were to indicate that any of his – these programs were important politically, I think I would reduce the chances of getting action on the program." This was the signal for the President's effort in his August 8 special message to give the appearance, at least, of forthright initiative through brave talk of more defense spending – and, for Nixon to float along above the battle, free to promise or evade as he chooses without the question of performance entering in until after the election.

The Democrats, on the other hand, see the special session as an opportunity to win votes by proving that they are serious about their platform and capable of carrying it out. The peremptory manner in which candidates Kennedy and Johnson dismissed the Vice President's suggestion of a gentleman's agreement to legislate on week days during the special session, so that the weekends could be devoted to

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Sticky Wicket

campaigning, pointed clearly to Democratic intentions. Kennedy has none of the platform problems that plague Nixon: his own past record is consistent with his party's promises for 1960. And Senator Johnson appears on the way to choosing once and for all between his obligations as a Texan and his obligations as the legislative leader of the whole party. In Nashville last week, before a conclave of his Southern peers, Johnson removed any doubt that his unequivocal endorsement at Los Angeles of the entire platform might have been a mere convention gesture. His words served, incidentally, to shore up Estes Kefauver in his re-election effort. But their reverberations were national. "I will never speak," said Johnson, "as a Southerner to Southerners or as a Protestant to Protestants or as a white to whites. I will speak only as an American to Americans – whatever their region, religion or race."

Having taken this step, Johnson will not back away from it, or so many of his intimates feel. With the Majority Leader so firmly committed to help rather than hinder him, Kennedy has a far better chance to get some concrete achievement out of the August 8 session than President Truman ever had in the special session of 1948. Kennedy can count on the Speaker of the House to make an extra effort to help his fellow Texan show results. Organized labor and other groups will also give formidable support to the Democratic proposals for minimum wages, housing, school aid and medical care for the aged. Still Candidate Kennedy will be up against the almost insuperable obstacle created by the same archaic rules of the House that frustrated Candidate Truman. It is hard enough to manipulate around the Rules Committee in a full six-months session; in three weeks, it may prove in many cases impossible.

Here is the situation:

Minimum Wage: Senator Kennedy is the sponsor of a plan to raise it from the present $1 per hour to $1.25, by steps, and to extend protection to 5 million workers not now included under the law, also reducing the work week of this group, by steps, to 40 hours, with time-and-a-half for overtime. The Senate Labor Committee has approved this bill, and Kennedy is scheduled to manage the floor fight for its passage.

The House, after months of delay in the Rules Committee, finally passed a bill on June 30 that would raise the minimum wage to $1.15 but would extend coverage to only a handful of the 5 million new workers the Kennedy bill would protect, and would not provide for overtime beyond a 40-hour week. In addition, 14 million workers now covered were removed from protection under the law by an incredible legislative *gaffe* in the rush for adjournment.

Senator Johnson should be able to negotiate a Senate bill far superior to the House version, and an acceptable final compromise.

On all three of the other priority programs, however, the Rules Committee has a life-or-death power that can only be broken by deals.

Housing: The Rules Committee, by a 6-6 vote just before the recess, refused to report out an omnibus housing bill approved by the House Banking and Currency Committee and already passed in similar form by the Senate. Together, Rules Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia and Minority Leader Charles Halleck of Indiana control 6 of the 12 committee votes. To break their stranglehold the Johnson-Kennedy combination must resort to technical alternatives: Calendar Wednesday or suspension of the rules, devices to be invoked by expert parliamentarians.

Education: Both houses have passed bills for aid to education – the first time in history for the House. The Senate, February 4, approved $1.8 billion over two years for school construction and teachers' salaries. The House, May 26, authorized $1.3 billion over four years for construction only. But the House Rules Committee has refused to allow appointment of a conference committee of the two houses to resolve the differences.

Health Care for the Aged: On June 23 the House passed a bill providing increased social security benefits and a program (miniscule in the number of people covered) of health benefits for the aged, subject to state option. This discarded the principle of the Forand bill advocating medical insurance through social security taxes as advocated by organized labor and liberal Dem-

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ocrats. The Senate Finance Committee, after hearings, took no action. On June 30, Sen. Clinton Anderson of New Mexico introduced a compromise, now backed by the AFL-CIO, which stands the best chance of adoption. It establishes the social security principle, but holds benefits to the level of the added revenues that would be provided by taxes under the plan; an increase of one-fourth of one percent in payroll taxes on both employer and employee on the first $4,800 of wages and three-eighths of one percent on the self-employed. In our view these revenues are sufficient to support a minimum balanced program of medical benefits – that is, outpatient diagnostic services and at least 60, perhaps 90, days of hospital care together with nursing home and home medical services (the latter as a safeguard against overutilization of hospital beds). The legislation as finally drafted should also avoid any concession to the deductible principle. Initially the Anderson bill provided that the individual pay the first $75 of hospital expenses and another $75 should he remain beyond 24 days. This is reportedly being modified to delete the second $75. But it should be recognized that any deduction at all will probably discourage the hardpressed aged from actually taking advantage of their new health care aid (Senator Kennedy's proposal, introduced last fall, pointedly shunned the deductible principle).

Anderson proposes that his plan be added as an amendment to the June 23 Social Security Bill passed by the House. It will take some inspired management to see that the Rules Committee, on the grounds that the House-passed bill contains no provision for relating health care to the social security system, does not refuse to refer the bill to a conference committee. (Perhaps the Democratic leadership may find sentimental inspiration in the fact that August 14 is the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Social Security Act.)

In essence, the special session of the 86th Congress will preview the problems the 87th Congress would present to a Democratic President in 1961, even if his election produced a sizable majority for his party in Congress. Almost certainly it will demonstrate again that to be effective a new President must have new rules to curb the inordinate power of the Rules Committee and to modernize the seniority system.

Kefauver's Victory

The special sweetness of Estes Kefauver's 210,000-vote victory margin in the Tennessee Democratic primary lies in the clear liberal-conservative basis on which he fought his campaign against Andrew (Tip) Taylor. To Judge Taylor's charges that he had betrayed the South on civil rights, Kefauver would say: "Yes, I voted for the civil rights bill this year, because I couldn't square my conscience with denying any qualified citizen the right to vote. Is there anyone here who doesn't feel every qualified citizen should have the right to vote? If there is, hold up your hand." Even in the heat of a campaign in which many felt he faced a serious threat to re-election, the Senator did not go beyond relatively mild appeasement of border-state opinion, observing that the Democratic platform "went a little far" in its explicit endorsement of the sit-in demonstrators. (Tennessee has had sporadic violence in all four of its major cities this year over desegregation in eating facilities.)

The attack on Kefauver stressed that "a real Southerner," Olin Johnston of South Carolina, would move up in seniority on the Judiciary Committee should a new Tennessean go to the Senate, and focused sharply on his lone dissenting vote against the 1954 Humphrey bill to outlaw the Communist Party, as well as his votes against McCarran-sponsored internal security measures, as evidence of softness on Communism. Kefauver, however, was able to link Judge Taylor in the eyes of the voters with Justin Potter, the controversial Nashville millionaire who carries on massive newspaper advertising against the Tennessee Valley Authority as "socialistic." Interestingly, Judge Taylor found it necessary to disclaim any rightist sympathies in this respect. "I'll fight like a tiger for TVA," he reassured the voters. And he seemed to acknowledge the weakness of an extreme rightist position when he backtracked in his attack on big federal spending programs.

Addressing the Tennessee Municipal League early in the campaign, he had objected to federal slum clearance aid to cities. This brought down on his head such a storm of protest that he began to modify his line. By the end of the campaign he was emphasizing those areas in which he favors federal help – highway and airport construction, for example – and saying little about "Socialism in Washington."

Recession Talk

Was it political scare talk when Walter Reuther spoke darkly last week at Hyannisport of "the imminence of the third Eisenhower-Nixon recession"? On the contrary, there are many indications supporting the contention of Reuther and of others such as MIT economist (and Kennedy adviser) Paul A. Samuelson, quoted by TRB in this issue, that we may already be in a recession. Steel production is at the lowest level of the entire postwar period, with plants operating at little more than 50 percent of capacity. And steel executives are not optimistic concerning the autumn outlook, for while the industry banks heavily on 1961 car models, the orders are, in fact, slow in coming from the auto companies. But this should not be surprising: the inventory of 1960 models is well over one million, the highest

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level ever reached by the automobile makers. Even more disturbing is that the number of used cars held by dealers is nearly 800,000, forcing lower trade-in allowances on new cars and portending trouble for the 1961 models.

Other important segments of the economy are similarly situated. With housing starts 20 percent below a year ago, unduly heavy inventories of home appliances and furnishings have built up. Construction is down 6 percent from 1959. Indeed, lagging demand and high inventories seem to pervade the entire economy. The level of unfilled orders is lower than at any time in the Fifties, and yet inventories are at the highest level in history, totaling $93 billion on June 1 of this year. Even more disturbing, inventories rose by $700 million during May, which would mean, if continued, an unsustainable annual increase of $8.4 billion! Significantly the rise dropped to $200 million during June. Nearly every industry has some idle capacity. Many are operating at less than 75 percent capacity. There can be little hope in such a deteriorating situation for any increase in the capital investment upon which full production depends – not to mention economic growth.

To be sure, there are also some favorable signs. Exports are up. Farm incomes have improved modestly. Retail sales are up 2 percent. Personal incomes at $406 billion have reached the highest level in history. And so has personal debt. Yet it appears that high incomes and the high level of debt formation are not creating sufficient demand to keep the present industrial capacity at a level of full production and employment. Everything seems to depend upon the consumer. But here, too, the May report by George Katona of the University of Michigan is pessimistic, showing that in the near future consumers intend to spend much less on housing, autos and appliances. Sixty percent of those surveyed fear a repetition of the 1958 recession and 16 percent thought we were already in a slump.

Not surprisingly, the consequence of over capacity, unprecedented inventories and lagging demand is a spreading unemployment. Recently the United Mine Workers reported that 20 percent of their members were unemployed, followed by David J. MacDonald's announcement that half of the United Steel Workers were either unemployed or underemployed – that is, on a short week. Last week the Labor Department reported that there can be no expectation of any increase in employment, except seasonal, during the autumn. While general unemployment is not at a dangerous level, there are a growing number of areas of serious joblessness. Youngstown, Ohio, where steel mills are idle, offers a good example of the growing unemployment which happens to be located in such politically strategic states as California, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The Republicans will be particularly vulnerable on the unemployment issue, which receives no attention at all as a national problem in the party platform. The Administration is stepping up, accordingly, government buying and contracts in advance of election day. Walter Reuther has accused the auto companies of suddenly scheduling increased production of 1961 models during September and October for no discernible reason other than to provide a shot of adrenalin for the economy. The unprecedented million-plus 1960 cars in inventory today certainly indicates unsound overproduction, for whatever reasons, during the spring and summer. According to Reuther, the earlier and heavier production schedules of 1961 models during September and October will leave the industry with an inventory in excess of a million new cars on November 1, three times above normal for that time of year, which would have to be followed by widespread layoffs in the auto plants during the winter to reduce the fantastic pre-election day inventories. Whether or not this business monstrosity is perpetrated, the economic prospect confronting any new Administration next year grows increasingly cloudy.

Political Television

Both of Adlai Stevenson's races for the Presidency were underfinanced. While presumably no amount of television exposure would have won the Presidency then for the Democrats, Republicans were helped because they were able to blanket the communications media. Conceivably it was the memory of these events which led Mr. Stevenson last spring to sponsor a proposal requiring the networks to give free time to the Presidential candidates of the two major parties.

Naturally the networks objected. In testimony before Senator Magnuson's Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, their representatives complained that it was unfair to compel them by law to do that which they would be perfectly willing to perform voluntarily, if only they could. Why couldn't they? The impediment is Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act which requires the networks to offer equal time to all candidates for a given office if time is given to any one candidate – no matter how minor the party or how slim the prospects of its candidate's election. Hence, the networks virtuously explained, they cannot grant free time to Democrats and Republicans, lest they find themselves cluttering the airwaves with vegetarians, prohibitionists, advocates of women's rights or repeal of the income tax. Biting the bullet, they have, therefore, billed the major parties at standard commercial rates for all political time desired.

What would the networks do if Section 315 were suspended for the 1960 Presidential campaign, as Senator Magnuson has proposed? Frank Stanton, President of CBS, has said he would commit his network to eight

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hours of free prime time for debates and discussions extending through the campaign. He would allot four hours to each of the major parties, to be used as the party wished. NBC has offered to expand its *Meet the Press* program to an hour each week during the last eight weeks of the campaign, shift the program to 9:30 Saturday evenings, where incidentally it might well hold the *Gunsmoke* audience, allocate six of the hours to the two major parties, and reserve the remaining two for other candidates and parties.

On these proposals the networks still stand. In closed circuit broadcasts to CBS affiliates, Mr. Stanton has reiterated his own proposal. In several recent speeches, Mr. Sarnoff of NBC has repeated his own suggestion. If Congress, when it reconvenes, suspends Section 315, the networks will be obliged, at considerable expense to themselves, to make good on their promises.

Nevertheless, this would not guarantee that television would be fully utilized as the principal medium through which most voters familiarize themselves with political alternatives. The right to broadcast is a public gift of enormous value to its recipients. The present generosity of the networks stems in good part from their fear of legal regulation. From their standpoint the fear is comprehensible, but the legal requirement to make sufficient prime time available in campaigns is what should be secured.

On the Flying Trapeze

The Premier elected by free Congolese
Took off with a cheer on the flying trapeze,
He promised to fly with the greatest of ease,
But soon he got stuck in mid-air.

His public appearance was not a success,
The whole apparatus was soon in a mess,
He hung upside down in a state of distress,
With outcries of rage and despair.

An army of experts was rushed to the ring
With safety-belts, pulleys and pieces of string,
To check the trapeze in its perilous swing,
While handling the artiste with care.

The rescue teams made a complete overhaul,
For the unrehearsed act was a danger to all,
And the thought of his certain and imminent fall
Caused a great international scare.

So the Premier elected by free Congolese
Was lashed right side up on the flying trapeze.
Whoa! he flies through the air with the greatest of ease,
For the Powers are keeping him there.

Sagittarius

Polaris for Europe?

The reported desire of the US to equip certain allies with Polaris missiles confronts NATO with one of the most critical strategic decisions in its history. The Pentagon is anxious to station hundreds of these medium-range missiles on the Continent as soon as possible because it is the easiest way to fill the so-called "missile gap": a powerful school of thought in Washington believes that Russia may be tempted to launch an all-out surprise attack on the United States if ever she has the necessary number of intercontinental missiles at a time when US retaliatory power still depends on aircraft. The Polaris, which may soon have a range of 1,500 miles, would make up for the lack of US intercontinental missiles providing it could be stationed close to the Soviet border.

General Norstadt and his military colleagues at SHAPE want the Polaris missiles for a different reason. They believe that the aircraft now assigned to them for tactical purposes may soon become incapable of penetrating Soviet defenses, and they see the Polaris essentially as a tactical weapon for use against military targets – including airfields deep in the Soviet Union beyond Moscow. This thesis is dismissed by many British military experts, who believe that it is most unlikely the West could fire atomic missiles at targets inside Russia without bringing on all-out thermonuclear war, in which case tactical considerations would become irrelevant.

Although the problem of controlling the use of these missiles is obviously of crucial importance, there is no evidence that this has yet been seriously considered. Should Polaris missiles once be distributed in national hands, collective international control of them might well be impossible. In this case the danger that any one of 16 countries might trigger off a global thermonuclear war against the will of the others would impose intolerable strains on the solidarity of the alliance. Worse still, Russia would be bound to follow suit in distributing atomic missiles to her own allies – including China.

Already the proposal to distribute Polaris has been creating dangerous political strains in NATO. A fortnight ago when Defense Secretary Brucker announced that he was engaged in bilateral negotiations to supply these missiles to Western Germany there were immediate protests from the other allies as well as from many Germans, too. Even before the Polaris proposal, the United States had agreed to supply Western Germany with Mace and Matador missiles which can carry atomic warheads right inside the Soviet Union. President de Gaulle has let it be known that he will not agree to accept Polaris missiles as part of a NATO force unless he simultaneously receives some more exclusively for France herself. The *London Times* has

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attacked the Polaris proposal in an editorial entitled "Misplaced Missile." The real danger is that the issue will be treated as one of military expedience when in fact it raises the most fundamental political problems not only of relations between the allies but also of relations between the West and the Communist bloc.

Birth Control and the State

Introducing a report on "Birth Control and Public Policy" by the British Catholic scholar Norman St. John-Stevas (reviewed, *NR* July 25), John Cogley remarks that "even when things are comparatively quiet," the controversy over birth control "ticks away like an angry bomb ready to explode at any moment." Tick away it will, of course, in the background of this fall's campaign. And an explosion of one sort or another will come in the Supreme Court of the United States late this year when cases testing the constitutionality of Connecticut's anti-birth control statute are to be decided.

Mr. St. John-Stevas is, commendably and unfortunately, way out ahead of the American Catholic hierarchy. He recommends "the abandonment of Catholic efforts to secure a total legislative ban on contraceptives," and by implication, abandonment also of opposition to the repeal of such existing bans, as in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Yet there are disturbing elements even in Mr. St. John-Stevas' position. Not only does he for himself submit to "the prophetic mission of the Church to judge and if necessary condemn society"; no one can be entitled to object to that. He also accepts the premise that his Church's moral prescripts are binding on all men, that nobody can have a right to commit what is, in absolute terms, an immoral act, and that a religion which "is more than a purely personal and private exercise," is bound to try to use the law to "diminish the freedom of those who reject the faith." Mr. St. John-Stevas maintains only that, from the point of view of the Church, it is ineffectual and unwise to try to do this in a society such as the United States where, far from there being a moral consensus in support of the precepts of the Church, there is majority opinion to the contrary.

But it is not that simple. For one thing, Mr. St. John-Stevas appears to have missed the point of our federalism. With us, under the First and Fourteenth Amendments, no Church may use Caesar to "diminish the freedom of those who reject the faith," and religion must remain very little more than "a purely personal and private exercise." This is and ought to be so, whether or not the Supreme Court holds the Connecticut anti-birth control statute unconstitutional. If the statute passes muster, it will be because the Court considers, rightly or wrongly, that Connecticut has a permissible secular end in view in banning birth control, such as could clearly be attributed to it if it banned only sales to minors or by slot machine. A state may have a care for the conduct of the young and for the seemliness of public places. But it may not enforce the prescripts of any religion. All prophetic missions must be allowed to pursue their ministries – unhindered and unaided.

CONSOLIDATION IN EAST GERMANY

Satellite Statehood

Weimar

Early this month the East German Liberal Democratic Party held its party congress in Weimar. Along with the East German Christian Democratic Union, this party once represented the "opposition" – minor-key, discreet but opposition nevertheless – to undiluted Communist rule. To these two parties flocked all those who disbelieved in Communism but felt that it was necessary, even under the mailed fist of Soviet occupation, to play some part in shaping the life of the East German State. The Liberal Democrats called on the *Mittelschicht* – the owners of still independent industrial undertakings, the shopkeepers and handicraftsmen, the comparatively well-to-do farmers – to serve their own interests by political activity which could at least apply the brake to the Ulbricht-Grotewohl regime's drive to turn Eastern Germany into the most Communist country, materially as well as ideologically, in the whole of Europe.

All this was a long time ago. Today in Weimar, their spokesmen made it clear that they support every facet of the Ulbricht-Grotewohl policies, from plans for a "German Confederation" of two German States and for conversion of West Berlin into a "free city," to collectivisation of agricultural land, the full-scale national-

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ization of industry and the reorganization of two million handicrafts and small tradesmen into state-controlled cooperatives. With complete candor these spokesmen admitted that their party – like the Christian and National Democrats, and the Farmers Party – enjoyed unanimity of aims and methods with the ruling Socialist Unity Party and with the regime.

A new mood of self-assurance had grown up in the East German parties, especially among the younger generation of politicians. Members of the Liberal Democratic Party executive like Rudolf Agsten and Manfred Gerlach are ready to sit down with Westerners over glasses of frothy Crimean champagne and argue by the hour every conceivable political subject, with forensic skill and astonishing confidence. Time and again they will come back to original premises – the Soviet Union is the strongest power in the Old World and will become the strongest power in the whole world, Western Germany is run by money and militarists, the East will find the solution of the German problem because only the East is putting up new ideas. Time and again they will predict, with complete certainty, the eventual recognition of the East German Republic, first by the "uncommitted" nations of the world and then by the West. Time and again they will prophesy the final victory of "People's Socialism" over capitalistic democracy.

There are several reasons for this self-assurance. The first is real pride in what the East German State has already achieved. "In this part of Germany," Dr. Johannes Dieckmann, President of the *Volkshammer*, told me, "we had to rebuild our life from its very foundations and under the gravest difficulties. We suffered much more heavily than Western Germany under the burden of reparations. We had fewer resources. We received not one cent of Western financial aid. We have rebuilt by our own strength, and by that alone." But the Easterners are equally proud of their diplomatic achievement. Herr Agsten told me that it was natural that the initiative for German reunification should pass to the East German State: "We have put up all the coherent ideas so far – a Confederation, all-German talks, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from German soil and the creation of a nuclear-free Germany." Agsten believes that Eastern Germany will become the focus for the movement toward unity "by virtue of Berlin, which gives us perspective, as opposed to the Federal Republic and its federal village of Bonn."

The Liberal Democrats honestly believe that their State can overtake the Federal Republic in the economic field. The target date for this achievement is 1962; it is, of course, over-optimistic. There are still plenty of bottlenecks and shortages in the East German economy. The Communist press itself has coined the phrase, "The 1,001 small things that are missing," which range from nails, scissors and drawing-pins to fresh vegetables, good quality clothing and textiles, and the porcelain and glassware so prominently displayed at Leipzig Trade Fairs but earmarked for export. Yet, there was food rationing less than two years ago, and today there is ample plain food while restaurants serve decent meals at a mere two to three marks (50-70 cents). The shortage of consumer goods, moreover, has been deliberately induced in the past, in order to allow concentration on heavy industry. The true bases of the East German economy today are a steel production which has nearly trebled since 1939, the biggest lignite fields in the world, a thriving engineering industry and a chemical industry which Comecon (the East European Economic Community) intends to make the largest in the whole Communist bloc.

Contrary to all that is said outside Eastern Germany's borders, the East Germans themselves – including industrialists – do not believe that the social revolution which is taking place will retard economic expansion. Resistance to collectivisation of the land has been virtually overcome; the collectivisation of handicrafts will move ahead more smoothly as a result of Ulbricht's "go-slow" order of June 12; state-participation in non-socialized industries has brought at least two benefits, ready capital and assured markets. Industrialists who have lost their independence by "inviting" state- participation (one former owner of a light engineering firm wryly assured me there "was no alternative") may even be inclined to think that these benefits outweigh the loss of personal initiative and reward.

The Liberal Democrats – and this goes for members of the other parties – talk most proudly about their social revolution. Herr Gerlach told the congress in Weimar that it would become plain to the outside world that East German society is actually producing a new type of human being, who would live by the twin principles of mutual and humanitarian aid, and of service to the state. Such a type of "new citizens," Herr Gerlach maintained, would be immensely superior to the individualistic, egocentric Westerner.

Is there something in this? A little, at least. The East Germans are evolving a code of good manners which contrast with the gawky rudeness of the People's Police and East German officials of a few years ago. They are bringing down the criminality rate year after year, whereas it is rising in most West European countries. They are setting high standards of political citizenship (Herr Gerlach complained that only 50 percent of party members were "active"; but what Western political party could show greater participation?). The East Germans seem still able to laugh. Politeness, humor, political activity are all pointers to one thing – the consolidation of the East German State and a consciousness of its own at least semi-independent existence. Here is something which cannot be overlooked in the years ahead, as Germany's division becomes more absolute.

Terence Prittie

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Russia and China–Uneasy Allies

by Walter Z. Laqueur

Russia came face to face with China on that day in the early 17th Century when a party of Cossacks crossed the Amur river and met a contingent of Chinese soldiers. The Tsar had only vague notions of what the Chinese empire was: he called on the Son of Heaven to accept his suzerainty, whereas the Chinese emperors, to whom the Northern Barbarians were just another backward and unruly tribe, demanded that the ruler of Moscow should send tribute to Peking. Ever since that day there has been a "Chinese question" in Russian foreign policy; the Russians have perhaps committed less mistakes in China than the Western powers but their record has not been a chain of conspicuous successes either. Nor did this change with the Russian revolution. The Chinese policy of the Comintern in the 'twenties was disastrous, and Stalin in 1943-49 did not really expect Mao to win.

Russia faces a very different China in 1960; but some of the old awkward problems still exist, and a few new ones have appeared. There were many straws in the wind during 1959: Chinese contributions to Soviet newspapers and magazines virtually ceased and there was much dissension in the various international "front" organizations. Khrushchev did not give unqualified support to Peking in its dispute with India, and, worse yet, made a friendly visit to Indonesia and encouraged the very government in Djakarta that had provoked so much indignation in Peking for its treatment of Chinese nationals. The Soviet Academy of Science had launched a new periodical on Chinese Affairs – and promptly discontinued it after the Chinese had demanded that each number ought to be censored in Peking prior to publication.

During April and May of this year the Chinese continued to needle Khrushchev; there was that enormously long article ("Long live Leninism") in the Chinese magazine *Red Flag* commenting on the "absurd attitudes of the revisionists toward the world situation" and the observation (for Khrushchev's benefit) that "there are also some people who are not revisionists, but well-intended persons who want to be Marxists, but are confused in the face of new historical phenomena and thus have developed incorrect ideas (about peaceful coexistence)." After this had gone on for several weeks somebody high up in Moscow reached the conclusion that enough was enough and the Soviet press retaliated with articles in which the Chinese leadership was severely taken to task (without mentioning it by name) for its "ultra leftist, harmful deviations." The Russians used the opportunity to settle some old accounts: Two years ago they had not reacted when Peking had triumphantly announced that it had overtaken the Soviet Union on the march toward Communism by introducing the agricultural Commune as the more advanced social stage. Now, in June, 1960, Soviet authors were poking fun at unnamed people who tried to skip historical stages and compared it with trying to teach a small boy algebra. Even the East Germans, who had always preferred the tough line of Peking to Khrushchev's coexistentialism, found it prudent to dissociate themselves now from the Chinese Commune claims.

According to one school of thinking in the West the present rift between Moscow and Peking is of no great consequence. They point to the fact that the issues at stake are minor tactical problems: both Khrushchev and Mao are after all good Leninists, and if the Chinese are in favor of a more militant policy with provision being made for local wars, it should not be impossible for them to reach a compromise with Moscow. Mao, after all, does not actually want a third world war (though his colleagues have perhaps too frequently declared of late that they are not afraid of it) whereas Khrushchev, when all is said and done, does not want to carry to extremes the policy of peaceful coexistence. A Sino-Soviet summit could easily evolve a "correct" Leninist approach. Western observers who refuse to attribute what they think is undue importance to the Sino-Soviet conflict are able to point to several other sound arguments: the Chinese leadership, they say, is much more flexible than commonly assumed; in 1957 the Chinese were for a while much more liberal than the Russians. China is economically dependent on the Soviet Union; the 250 main industrial projects of the current Chinese plans are carried out with Soviet help. Has not Peking shown caution over Formosa during the last year or so and abstained from provoking the US Seventh Fleet into action? And would not an open conflict between Moscow and Peking be a great disaster for both the Communist super powers? This is only too true and it would indeed be surprising if Khrushchev and Mao should not succeed in patching up their alliance in the near future. But for how long? If it were merely an ideological rift the alliance could go on

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forever, in theory, at any rate, for the differences are minute. But the real issues at stake are deeper: How to divide the world into spheres of influence? And what about the leadership of the "socialist camp"?

With a very few obvious exceptions no division of labor has ever been agreed upon between Moscow and Peking. In 1954 China concentrated upon Asia; this was the year of Bandung and China's prestige was extremely high. The Soviet Union was slightly suspect in Asian eyes, but the Chinese leaders who had come to power at the helm of a popular mass movement were beyond distrust. The situation in 1960 is very different: China has quarrelled with most of its neighbors, shown aggressive designs in various places and lost most of the good will it originally had. Its strained relations with India and Pakistan are well known and need not be reiterated in detail. With Nepal there have been serious recent border incidents, and the conflict with Indonesia about the status of the Chinese nationals in that country continues. There are signs that even the relations with China's Communist neighbors are not what they used to be; when Chou En-lai visited North Vietnam last May he was friendly and patronizing, urging the local comrades to greater efforts in emulating the Chinese model. It was all very different from his last visit in 1956 when he had paid his respects to his "old teacher" Ho Chi Minh. The Vietnam Communists are proud and sensitive people who came to power through their own efforts; they will probably retaliate with a closer rapprochement toward the USSR.

In one direction only have Chinese political efforts been crowned with success: Outer Mongolia has been passing more and more into their sphere of influence. While Choibalsan, the Mongolian Stalin, was in power he preferred to hold the Chinese at arms length; diplomatic relations between the two countries were only established after his death in 1953-54. His successor, Zendenbal, has walked a tight rope between Moscow and Peking; on the whole, the act has been successful. But in recent months, he has had to make some concessions to the Chinese who were apparently extremely insistent about economic aid for Mongolia (including the import of Chinese workers).

As a result of the deterioration in its relations with most Asian countries, Peking is now trying very hard to gain a foothold in various African countries, and, to a lesser extent, in Latin America. China's prospects in Africa are of course much better than in Asia; Peking is far away from Accra or Conakry and nobody there feels threatened by Chinese aggression. China has also been active in some Middle Eastern countries. (Peking in effect has been blamed by the Russians for the "left-wing sectarianism" of Iraqi Communism).

All this is not a prearranged division of labor; on the contrary, it can be taken for granted that Russian activities in India and Indonesia are viewed with some chagrin in Peking, whereas Moscow cannot possibly be enthusiastic about the Chinese forays in Africa and the Middle East. This jockeying for positions goes on and will continue and constitutes a permanent source of friction. Imperialism in the olden days could try to divide the world into spheres of influence, whereas Communism finds the going much more difficult, and not only because it is bound by certain principles which make it hard to use some of the more blatant imperialistic practices. Forty-five years ago Lenin developed a theory (the "law of uneven development") according to which the imperialist powers were bound to fight each other and could not possibly reach peaceful agreement and unite, for some of them had arrived on the scene early and amassed great empires, while others were latecomers who had to fight for their place in the sun. Whether and to what degree Lenin's "law" made sense in the world of 1914 is a problem on which learned dissertations have been and will be written; for obvious reasons both Russians and Chinese have refrained from applying that "law" to the post-imperialist world of 1960, and especially to Sino-Soviet relations, where it could probably be applied with much profit.

The strains in the Sino-Soviet alliance are likely to become more and more pronounced, for even if a working agreement about the division of spheres of interests could be reached, the question of the leadership of the bloc would be left in abeyance. Back in 1957 Mao declared that "our Socialist camp should have a leader, and this is the Soviet Union. The enemy also has a leader, and this is America. If there is no leader, the strength will be weakened." But the Chinese have never made a secret of their belief that ultimately the leadership of the bloc ought to pass into their hands; not only because they are the most populous Communist country but also because they think their own brand of Communism is purer and generally superior to what is practiced under that name in the Soviet Union and the East European "Popular Democracies." Nor do they think that their day is far away; so far the Russians have refused to share their atomic know-how with the Chinese (it would be interesting to know under what pretext), but some Chinese leaders apparently believe that China's leading position in the bloc will be assured the day it explodes its atomic bomb. Although this may be wishful thinking, not shared by Mao and Chou, the Russians may be forgiven for displaying extreme wariness in the face of these hardly veiled Chinese claims. There is a limit to "proletarian internationalism."

Western freedom of maneuver in these circumstances is unfortunately very limited. One should refrain from needless provocations that only induce the Chinese and the Russians to patch up their dilapidated alliance. But basically there is little the West can do to expedite these developments: it can only watch the unfolding struggle from the sidelines, with concern and fascination.

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The All-Purpose Nixon Speech

Note: *This universal, all-purpose speech was prepared for Vice President Nixon by a pool of public relations and advertising men who pretested each sentence in a sample of 100 cities between the population of 15,000 and 75,000. The image-meter indicated a favorable response among those Americans between 35 and 70 with an average income of $6,500, and with 1.2 barbecue pit per family.*

My fellow Americans, it is good to return to ....., a town that Lincoln loved. In Washington we sometimes forget that in this nation of families, the hearth is in cities like this, and only the chimney – with a little Democratic smoke – is in the Capital. (*Pause for restrained laughter; Charlie will start.*)

But Chancellor Adenauer does not forget. I last saw the Chancellor shortly after I left Russia, where I had the honor of representing President Eisenhower, and where I had the responsibility of defending the American dream against those in the Kremlin who would profane it.

Chancellor Adenauer said to me: "Mr. Vice President, don't ever forget that when you saw Mr. Khrushchev you saw a man who has contempt for little people. We in the free world do not, and that is why we will win (*emphasis on "win," voice rising.*)

Believe me, my fellow Americans, the Chancellor is a wise man with long experience in politics. He is betting, and I am betting, that the American people will turn their backs on a party that seems to share Mr. Khrushchev's contempt for little people. The Democrat Party (*swallow "ic"*) seems to think it can prove Abraham Lincoln was wrong in saying you can't fool all the people all the time. But the party that forgot Jefferson, I pray, will not turn the people against the party that remembers Lincoln (*throb in voice*).

Now let me make it clear. I am not questioning the loyalty of people who vote Democrat(ic). I leave the low road to my opponent, who seems to think that General Eisenhower is deliberately making America a second-rate power because Mr. Eisenhower does not listen to my young opponent's military advice.

But America is not a third-rate country -- and don't you believe anybody who tries to sell your country short! (*With sincere anger.*) When President de Gaulle visited my home in Washington a few months ago, he told me: "Mr. Vice President, when I see a home like yours, with children like your daughters, and a wife like Pat, I can't understand those people who say that America has gone soft and (*let voice sink*) that America has forgotten God."

Now I don't say this by way of bragging. My family is like millions of others in this wonderful country, no better, no worse. I like to think that my little girls would be perfectly at home in your kitchen, and that you would feel just fine in ours. When President de Gaulle spoke those words, he was complimenting you, not me. He was saying that the spirit of greatness still lives in all our hearts – and that Mr. Khrushchev may beat a materialistic people, but not a people armed with spiritual values. I tried to tell Mr. K that, but he just waved an eggbeater at me. (*Let tension break with laughter.*)

Not that America is perfect. Far from it. Folks, when you elected Mr. Eisenhower eight years ago, he took over a government that had been ruled for a generation by men that had lost faith in America.

My wife – you know, she was born on St. Patrick's day – once said to me, "Don't the American people remember that even the good St. Patrick needed more time to drive out the serpents and bring Christianity to Ireland." Pat's got a little of the Irish temper in her, but she was right.

The serpents are still with us, my fellow Americans. The serpent of sloth, the serpent of hidden Communism, the serpent of greed, the serpent of government corruption bearing mink coats and deep freezes, the serpent which says: "Let the state do the job for me."

Your votes can stop them. Give us a chance to help build a stronger America! To help make the farmer's lot a happier one! To help our senior citizens in their golden years! To help build schools and to help our loyal American teachers! To help small business! To help the honest working-man! To help assure civil rights! To help bring eternal peace with justice through law under God! We can do it Americans!

One final word. I want to talk about something close to my heart. Work. That's a good word folks, and one we shouldn't be ashamed of. I've been reading some philosophy in my spare time, and although I don't pretend to be a great philosopher and don't have any Ivy League degrees, one sentence struck me profoundly. It was written by a good American, Benjamin Franklin. Although my opponent sneers at Poor Richard's Almanac, he ought to listen to this advice from a poor boy who had to work his way up in the world.

Franklin said, "Early to bed, early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise." Fellow voters, when I was in Dad's grocery store, my Mother taught me those words, and I still get a thrill out of them.

And we've got to work, Americans! Those that hate America – and I saw the face of hate in Venezuela – they are working day and night. The Democrats, who say they love America but who seem to think we ought to apologize to the man who hates America worst – they are working hard. Can I count on you to work harder? (*Wait for roars of "Yes" to be started by Lew and Eddie.*)

And now let us pledge allegiance to the flag.

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Ethics and the Politician

by Stephen K. Bailey

Insofar as I refer specifically to experiences in Middletown, Connecticut, during the years when I was mayor of that city, I hope that friends there will show me the same charity that Huckleberry Finn showed Mark Twain. Referring to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, Huck commented, "That book was made by Mr. Mark Twain, and he told the truth, mainly. There was things which he stretched, but mainly, he told the truth. That is nothing. I never seen anybody but lied one time or another, without it was Aunt Polly. . . ." And Huck Finn was perceptive in spotting the moral flaw in Aunt Polly and in her old maid sister, Miss Watson: a flaw of self-righteousness so hideous that when Huck learned that Miss Watson was living "so as to go to the good place," Huck could "see no advantage in going where she was going," so he made up his mind he wouldn't try for it.

I have worried far more about the ethical consequences of my decisions as mayor since leaving office than I ever did as an incumbent. And perhaps this is the first point to be made. Most elected executives find that there is an ethics of *action* which is normally far more compelling than the urge to balance with precision the ethical niceties of pressing public issues. There are times when the good of the community demands firmness and decision at the expense of marginal injustice. Those who would make justice the sole criterion of the good society are not only, in my judgment, myopic in their ethical vision; they establish an impossible operating norm for administrators.

When the nicest people have rationalized their selfishness with a tactical deference to the public interest, elected political executives are often grateful that they are too preoccupied to be ethically astute. Even where venality seems clearest, as in the rare case of an attempt at straight bribery ("Mayor, here's $1,000 in $5 bills if you get that easement through the council" – the political version of "payola"), the ethical issues may not be self-evident. Let us make some assumptions: suppose that the mayor knows that the easement will go through "on its merits" (begging what *that* slippery phrase means). Suppose further that the mayor knows that the party needs money not only to run the forthcoming election but to pay debts on a past election. Suppose the mayor knows further that the voting public has not responded favorably and positively to the appeal of the American Heritage Foundation for everyone to give to the party of his choice. Suppose finally that the mayor believes that a working two-party system is the nation's and the community's greatest safeguard of democracy and freedom. If it could be proved to the mayor's satisfaction that the lack of $1,000 at the moment could do irreparable damage to the two-party system in the area, would it be a higher principle in a naughty world for the mayor to accept the money on behalf of the party, or to refuse the money?

Stated this way, the issue is still not very complex for most people. "They've known what's right and wrong since they've been 10." You do not accept bribes, period; and you most certainly do not compound evil by cheating the briber. This is all very clear. But is it, really? There are ways of playing slight variations on this theme which would remove from the sternest Presbyterian moralist any burden of guilt. The briber has made a number of contributions to the party over the years. The latest thousand is simply another indication of his belief in the great principles of the party. On the easement question, every party member on the council, including the mayor, attempts to examine the issue on its merits. But a "will to believe" has set in – a subtle coloration of the problem. Good old Joe is a friend who provided all the favors for the party picnic. Isn't it fortunate the merits of the easement case are on his side?

And bribery can take so many forms: money, favors, flattery, help in time of trouble, influence in building status. To pretend that bribery is a simple and easily spotted phenomenon is naïve. To pretend it takes place only in politics is silly. I have seen the egos of older university professors successfully bribed by astute and ambitious instructors; I have seen great institutions bribe men into conformity with promises of promotions or demotions. I have seen them kill, spiritually, those who resisted. I have received threats that unless such-and-such happened, I'd be voted out at the next election. Is this not attempted bribery? Is money any more a thing of value than power or status or re-election?

I was never asked to fix a traffic or parking ticket in Middletown; but I cannot swear that tickets were not occasionally fixed while I was mayor. And I am not sure that under certain circumstances (*e.g.*, a hectic woman delayed in buying her six children school clothes) I would not have paid the dollar fine myself rather than penalize her for something beyond her ef-

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fective control. Nothing is more unjust than unexceptional law except law that is all exceptions. Surely, one of the most difficult ethical problems in all governance is the drawing of lines between rules and exceptions. That the lines, to be moral, must be drawn near the rules end of the spectrum I do not question. But that exceptions are never warranted seems to me the most callous of all moral judgments.

It Costs Money

George Bernard Shaw once wrote what many politicians must at times have felt. Shaw learned that a Labour candidate named Joseph Burgess had refused to compromise on some issue and had thereby lost his seat in Parliament. Shaw commented bitterly: "When I think of my own unfortunate character, smirched with compromise, rotted with opportunism, mildewed by expediency – dragged through the mud of borough council and Battersea elections, stretched out of shape with wire-pulling, putrefied by permeation, worn out by 25 years pushing to gain an inch here, or straining to stem a backrush, I do think Joe might have put up with just a speck or two on those white robes of his for the sake of the millions of poor devils who cannot afford any character at all because they have no friend in Parliament. Oh, these moral dandies, these spiritual toffs. . . . Who is Joe, anyhow, that he should not risk his soul occasionally like the rest of us?"

I was once confronted with a possible kickback on a fire truck purchase. The party representative reminded me that it costs money to run elections; that generosity from fire truck manufacturers to those who had the insight to see the need for public safety in their communities was rather standard, and that no one would really suffer. The gift would come as a preordained slice of the salesman's commission; he would give of his own income because "he believed in the principles of the Democratic Party." I drew myself up to my maximum height, stared at my good friend, and said in what I am sure must have been the most patronizing of tones, "If the party needs four or five hundred dollars, I shall be happy to try to raise the money personally; but I shall not do it that way." I then went a step further. I called the poor fire truck salesman into the office and made him add about $400 worth of extra equipment to the fire truck at the bid price he had quoted. In a swift double blow I had proved my moral worth and defended the taxpayers' interests. I had proved that at least in one American community "public office is a public trust."

I had also proved that it is easy to be moral when the pressure is not really on. Suppose the party coffers *had* been empty? Suppose my confident bluff to raise "four or five hundred dollars" for the party had been called? Suppose the alternative to a Democratic re-election was the election of a rather disreputable Republican gang who would have practiced "boodle" with more frequency and with infinitely less flair than the Democrats? What then? And why should we refuse to accept money for the imperative cause of political party machinery, almost regardless of source, when the so-called "good" people of the community would not be caught dead giving to their political party – to the system of options which does far more than the Constitution to guarantee freedom and democracy?

The only serious ethical struggle I had with party leaders in Middletown dealt with a request for a zoning exception. Here I was firm, morally aroused, and dogmatic, and would be to this day. A contractor, who had contributed liberally to both political parties locally, hired a leading Democratic lawyer to plead for a commercial spot zone in a strictly residential area. The people of the area were almost solidly opposed to the change. Even if they had not been, nothing can ruin the orderly and esthetic development of a growing city like politically-inspired spot zoning in contravention of a general plan. The members of the zoning committee, to their credit, said to me, "Mayor, there's a lot we'll do for the party, but we won't do this." The final showdown on this case took place in the lawyer's office with all major party leaders present. I walked in swinging. I made it quite clear that if the plumbing broke down in city hall, I would hire a licensed Democratic plumber over a licensed Republican plumber any day of the week; that if the law did not force us to go to bid, I would buy insurance from a Democratic rather than a Republican insurance agent; but that when it came to what Edmund Burke once called "the permanent forces" in the community, I was ready to do battle. I suggested that although there was much in politics that one rendered to Caesar, almost without qualms, city planning was rendered only to God. A few party leaders were upset; but most of them were understanding; and the lawyer in question, who over the years has been one of the most brilliant as well as constructive forces in the community and state, had the grace to accept my position without rancor.

But contrary to what many people seem to believe, the hard ethical issues of public life rarely concern party politics. Party decisions tend to roll according to pre-set patterns. Every elected executive works out a few obvious benchmarks for relationships with political leaders (for example, "consult party leaders on all appointments, but solicit their help in trading little appointments to the party for big appointments to you"). In any case, to suggest that most party officials are frequently ethical "problems" is to distort their normal role beyond recognition. For every occasion when a party leader asked me for a favor that disturbed my conscience, I can think of a dozen times when the same party leader helped me defend the public interest

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against the importunities of non-party pressure groups.

Upon reflection, it is my firm belief that insofar as party politics interferes with the pursuit of the public interest, it is largely a result of the necessities of campaign finance. Most venality in public life could be abolished or reduced to insignificance if the public would assume responsibility for broadly-based campaign financing and would insist upon the public auditing and disclosure of all campaign gifts and expenditures. This would not eliminate corruption entirely, for wherever power and money converge some venality will be found. But our present method of financing political campaigns is, in my estimation, the single most corrupting factor in our political life – local, national, and, especially, state.

Of Parking Lots and Peacocks

Take 10 problems which faced me as mayor, and which are typical of perhaps 100 I faced in two years as an elected executive.

1. A peacock farm on the edge of town kept neighbors awake for a month or so a year during the peacock mating season. The city government was asked by the neighbors to see to it that the birds were quieted. Ethical question: is a temporary irritation – including loss of sleep – for 10 families worth the destruction of a hobby and a partial livelihood for one person?

2. The best detective on the chronically underpaid police force is suspected of taking protection money from some local two-bit gamblers. The evidence is too vague and unsubstantial to stand in court. Ethical question: is the *possibility* of the evidence being correct important enough to warrant a substantial investigation, with a consequent probable loss in efficiency and morale in the police department during and long after the investigation, a certain loss in public confidence in the whole force, and the ever-present possibility that the rumor was planted by a crank? And out of the many pressing issues coming across the mayor's desk, how much time and effort does such an investigation warrant from the mayor himself?

3. The whole scheme of volunteer fire departments is looked upon by the chief of the city's only paid department as wasteful, inefficient and dangerous to the public safety. The volunteers claim that their fire-fighting record is topnotch, that they save the taxpayers money. Ethical question: if neither side can be proved incorrect, how does one weigh the values of volunteer community endeavors against marginal inefficiencies in operation of a vital service?

4. Many years ago, one department store was farsighted enough to have bought up some land for off-street parking. This off-street parking gave the store quite a competitive advantage. The city, in a new municipal parking program, needed a portion of the private parking lot assembled by the department store years before. When established, the municipal lot might destroy the store's competitive advantage. Ethical question: at what point does the public interest demand that private farsightedness be penalized?

5. Two mayors in four years happened to have lived on Wyllys Avenue. Wyllys Avenue desperately needed repaving. But so did some other streets in the city. Ethical question: should Wyllys Avenue be paved, granted a heavy presumption that many citizens would claim that the mayor had "taken care of himself"?

6. A federal grant-in-aid cut in half the city's welfare load, making a sinecure out of one of the two city welfare positions. The holder of the sinecure was a Negro appointed by the opposition party. Ethical question: should work somehow be "made" for the Negro, or should he be dropped? (For anyone who knows the problems of status, morale and upward mobility among Negroes in a largely white community, the political questions posed by this case are easy compared to the long-range ethical questions.)

7. The virulent opposition of a local printer-publicist might be tamed on a few key issues with the proper placing of a few city printing contracts. Ethical question: obvious.

8. Buying of tires in wholesale lots would save the taxpayers $300 a year – about one cent per citizen per annum. A score of little Middletown tire merchants would lose $10 or more in income. Ethical question: how does one balance one cent each for 30,000 people *versus* $10 each for 20 merchants?

9. Parents concerned with the safety of their children on the way to and from school are constantly demanding increased police protection and more sidewalks. A more legitimate demand would be hard to imagine. But there are limits. Ethical question: granted that *total* safety never can be assured, what grounds beyond obvious necessity and "the squeaky wheel gets the grease" can be found for awarding or denying protection?

10. There is a likelihood that one of the major industries in town will have to close down a sizable slice of its operations. This may mean 2,000 unemployed. A steel company is looking for a New England site for a steel mill. It finds an "ideal" location in Middletown. That "ideal" location is a stretch of the Connecticut River which is unspoiled and is deeply treasured by small-boat owners and by nature lovers. Ethical question: is the provision of employment for 2,000 people worth the destruction forever of natural beauty?

If I should be asked today how I resolved, in my own mind, the ethical dilemmas posed in the previous paragraphs, I should not know how to answer. Most of the

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dilemmas were not mine to resolve alone. Other people shared official power with me, and many citizens without official power assumed substantial unofficial responsibility for community decisions. But insofar as I had to make up my mind by myself, or felt that my judgment might be determining in the minds of others, I did repair to two or three very general propositions for ethical guidance. In practice, the propositions were never articulated, but in retrospect I know that they were there. All of them had been woven into my life by parental, religious, and academic influences – in most cases by all three. My father, although never a minister, was a Professor of Religion and a firm believer in the Social Gospel. My studies at Oxford had brought me close to Immanuel Kant and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Ideas like "the categorical imperative" and "the general will" were connected in my mind with such Biblical injunctions as "Let justice roll down as waters; and righteousness as a mighty stream."

The Garden of Vanity

The most helpful single question I could ask myself seemed to be, "What do you want Middletown to be like 10 years from now?" Against this, many things fell into place. I wanted more beauty, fewer slums, less bigotry, more recreation, more community spirit, a more sustained sense of public responsibility, a more dynamic and prosperous economy, better education, a stronger and more truly competitive two-party system, and a heightened sense of personal dignity for all. These were some of the benchmarks against which specific ethical issues were measured or rationalized. They were not my marks. They were the marks of the civilization of which I was a miniscule reflection.

There are, perhaps, two other matters which ought to be touched upon. The first has to do with the effect of power upon personality. I remember one evening when I was returning with political friends from a television performance. For a half hour they told me what a brilliant performance mine had been. By the end of the half hour I was aware only that a new political star had been born on the horizon: namely, myself, and that I could not long deny the people of the State of Connecticut the chance to vote for me either for Governor or at the very least for United States Senator. It was not until I got home that my wife – with that wonderful sixth sense of a level-headed and thoughtful woman – reminded me that my performance had, in fact, been a little on the mediocre side – but that she was sure I had just had an off night. The most devastating traps of public office are the ones set to catch the ego. It is so easy to forget that the tribute is to the office, not to the person. Even a mayor stands out a little; fathers bring up their daughters to "shake the mayor's hand"; the mayor sits at head tables; he officiates; he is often the central figure in ceremony. All this inflates the sense of personal worth and waters the thirsty garden of vanity. The consequences are often pathetic, often silly, sometimes dangerous.

But Acton was wrong in suggesting that the only flowers in the garden of vanity are the weeds of corruption. Power may corrupt, but it also can ennoble. The sense that you, and the office you hold, are widely valued often creates a heightened sense of responsibility, a desire to live close to the public expectation, a wish to become a kind of community example. I have seen men utterly transformed by a judgeship. A politician – an old pro in western Connecticut – once confided to me that he hated all judges. "What are they but some hack lawyers who happened to know a politician?" And he went on, "After you've made 'em, what do they do? They turn around and kick you in the teeth! They draw their robes around them as though they were Solon or something! You can't touch them! Who the hell do they think they are?" The fact is that they think they *are* Solon; they suddenly realize that instead of petty politicians they are an essential part of the fabric of civilization – a fabric which can last only so long as there is a widespread public belief that judges in courts of law will try to be just. And what is true of judges is equally true of elected executives.

This brings me to my final point. All ethical questions ultimately revert to propositions about the nature of man. Perched precariously on a whirling planet, blind to his origins, blind to his reasons for being, beset by the terrors of nature and of his own creation, man wobbles drunkenly between a certainty that he is nothing and an occasional, blinding revelation that he has a transcendent dignity and perhaps destiny. When man feels alienated from his universe, he may huddle in fear with his fellow men; but he cannot reach them with that fullness of feeling, that intenseness of identity, which is suggested by the Christian concept of love, or by the civil concept of community. I am not a mystical person, but I sense strongly that my best moments as mayor came when I felt – in an almost religious way – that what we were attempting to do in Middletown had meaning beyond itself. I remember Fred Smith, the editor of the local paper, once writing me an intimate note when I was particularly discouraged about the public response to some issue. "Never," he wrote, "lose faith in your neighbors." And he went on to explain, not that they were perfect, but that he had known them for a long time, and that they would ultimately respond to the good if they could be shown the good.

Surely this is the ultimate ethical postulate in a democracy: not that man is good, but that he is capable of good; not that he is free from corruption, but that he is desperately sick of it; not that he has fashioned the good society, but that he has caught an unforgettable glimpse of it.

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Poetry vs. Language Engineering

by Stephen Spender

John Ciardi, in this informed and intelligent book, rejects paraphrase as a means of understanding a poem, and substitutes for it analysis of the elements that make a poem "work": not *what* but *how* does a poem mean. It is true that he does this with warnings that the mechanics are not the same thing as the poem itself. "Analysis is never in any sense a substitute for the poem. The best any analysis can do is to prepare the reader to enter a poem more perceptively." The question is, then, how far one thinks that Mr. Ciardi's method really will enhance the reader's appreciation of poetry.

How Does A Poem Mean
by John Ciardi
(Houghton Mifflin; $4)

Mr. Ciardi appears to assume that the reader knows nothing of poetry, has no natural taste for it, but can be made to like it by being told far more about its mechanics than poets such as William Blake, Walt Whitman, or Dylan Thomas ever knew. Perhaps it would be better to say that I do not think these poets can have approached poetry as though it were a job of language engineering. I doubt whether Mr. Ciardi himself, when he is putting a poem together, thinks of it as having to consist of abstracted elements, in the same way as he thinks of other writers' poems when he is pulling them apart.

It may be, of course, that the reader who has no liking for poetry may be made to like it by being given a poem to read and then being presented with an examination paper containing questions which (to me, at all events) often seem fantastically irrelevant. It may also be true that Mr. Ciardi's method is based on a false analogy whereby he confuses an engineering approach with an aesthetic approach. This seems to me suggested by the opening sentences of the introduction to this new book:

> "A poem is a formal structure in which many elements operate at the same time. In analysis, each element must be constructed separately. By nature, analysis is plodding at best. Were an aeronautical engineer to analyze the flight of a gull, for example, he would find himself involved in a great deal of crabbed detail. No one, however, would be tempted to believe that the analysis tried to take the place of the gull, or that it damaged the gull in any way."

Of course, I agree that the poem is not damaged by analysis, but the question is: in what way, and by what sort of analysis, is the reader helped. Here the introduction of the aeronautical engineer is misleading, suggesting that his analysis of the beautiful flight of a beautiful bird provides aesthetic justification for the same kind of analysis of a beautiful poem. The point I wish to make is that the aeronautical engineer's analysis might provide a beautiful graph, but it would do very little to explain why the spectator found its flying beautiful. The gull's flight and the spectator's pleasure are life speaking to life, and though this involves rules, they are not those of aeronautics. Aesthetics is concerned perhaps with *why*, rather than with *what* or *how*.

To put the matter more simply, Mr. Ciardi analyzes the poet's machinery, and seems to forget that to the poet his language is a gesture, and the mechanics a discipline, an aid, a fulfillment, and a corrective, which make it possible to preserve this gesture coming directly from life. In fact, what Mr. Ciardi does is to jumble up the cart with the horse and take it to pieces as though it were an automobile.

I can best illustrate this with an example taken from his last chapter, which he regards as his most important. Here he considers the beautiful anonymous poem:

O Western wind, when wilt thou blow
  That the small rain down may rain?
Christ, that my love were in my arms,
  And I in my bed again.

Mr. Ciardi rejects the idea of paraphrasing this poem (though an intelligent paraphrase of the first two lines could be helpful) and then goes on to apply his own method, which is to describe the poem at some length, as a series of connected effects. After two pages, he arrives at the following:

> "It begins with a heavily impeded generalized invocation to the Western wind of spring. The poet draws out his cry as if tortured by the thought, carrying it on a rising inflection throughout the first two lines and leaving it suspended. The cry ends and the poet pauses, silent. Suddenly, within that silence, the terms of his grief change inside him. A second voice of despair surges in him and lashes forth with a cry to Heaven. The voice resumes with a hammer-beat of anguish on the first syllable. Then, as if that first hammered syllable had drained the last strength of the speaker's anger, the voice slides off into a numb personal statement of the poet's exact grief, that grief now simply stated, no longer volatile and angry, but defeated, and the metric line accordingly runs smooth and even accelerates in response to the fact that the poet no longer struggles against the truth, but closes on a dying fall."

Mr. Ciardi continues: "The foregoing is not a paraphrase of the poem, but rather a simplified description of the details of the poetic performance." Myself, I would prefer a paraphrase, for such a description attributes motives and a degree of consciousness to the poet which I cannot believe he had. It is rather as if you were to describe the

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gull's flight as a conscious feat of technical communication by the gull.

There must be some reason, intrinsic to the nature of poetic invention (*pace* Creative Writing courses) why there are no studios and academies where poets have learned the techniques of their poetry. The reason, I suggest, is that in painting and music, analytic technique is a language which you have to learn before you can create your spirit's gestures in pictures or symphonies, whereas in poetry the technique which insulates the poem from the sea of common speech from which it arises is a kind of underlining, heightening, framing, in which the gesture of language that anyone who uses words might feel, is fixed. In painting and music, technique is language. In poetry, technique corrects gestured idiom according to conventions.

Thus the painter may think "I must mix terra verte with raw umber," or the composer "I must now move into the key of A minor." But the poet does not altogether think in this way. The author of "O Western Wind" cannot possibly have thought: "My first two lines 'express a general hortatory question phrased in terms that might do for an invocation to some minor deity of the wind; the second two lines are specific and bitter exclamation phrased in the simplest language of common speech'." Yet this is what Mr. Ciardi describes him as doing. Very few – and only very effete – writers can have set out to phrase something "in the simplest language of common speech," in the same way as Beethoven, say, deliberately took up a Slavonic folk tune for a movement of a quartet. "O Western Wind" is a poem which arises out of the instinct of the language; and the poet had the technique which could correct, without damaging, the idiomatic language, so that the form fixes the gesture of the feeling contained.

It is not that I object to interest in technique. When Mr. Ciardi writes purely about technical matters I have nothing but admiration for him. His description of iambics, anapests, etc., is helpful. The best chapter in this book is on "The Words of Poetry." What he seems unsubtle about is the effort of consciousness that goes into poetry, and what I dispute is the kind of consciousness he wishes to impose on the reader. Nothing illustrates this better than the (to my mind often absurd) examination-questions with which he interlards the poems. "Mark the fulcrums, identify their relative importance, and identify the poem as balanced or truncated." How odd that a writer who starts off with the good intention of making the reader consider what a poem is rather than what it can be paraphrased as saying, should then fall into treating poems as subjects for examination with a set of rules that he has specially invented.

A SCIENTIFIC JARGON *is related to good English as a provincial Chinese dialect is related to Mandarin. However useful a dialect may have been to those who spoke it, nothing that was said or done in the dialect entered into Chinese culture or history. It was only when it was translated into Mandarin that it took on value and significance. Similarly, it is only when a psychologist or a sociologist states his case in good English that his opinions can be taken seriously or that his views become significant.*

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In Place of the Empires of Europe

by Charles Burton Marshall

Recently I happened upon a set of instructions to United States representatives abroad issued in the name of Grover Cleveland near the end of his second Presidency and designed to bring within the compass of one small volume what the American diplomat had to know in dealing with the exterior world. Governments in diplomatic relationship with ours then numbered in the low thirties: two in Africa, four in Asia, one – Hawaii – in the Pacific, and the rest in Latin America and Europe. The world was explicitly divided into civilized and uncivilized areas, and the civilized portion into Christian and non-Christian components. Within countries of the latter sort our nationals enjoyed exemption from local jurisdiction and were subject to judicial authority vested in our consuls, with power of review in the appropriate chiefs of diplomatic mission. It was a relaxed world. Chiefs of mission were allowed to take along two subordinates with diplomatic rank of secretary plus some clerical help. Each embassy or legation could subscribe to two American and three local papers. Time was less important then. "Write – don't cable," was the instruction; and any envoy tempted to use electrical communication to Washington was warned of his liability for the fee. Politics was *verboten*. No diplomat under any circumstances was to evince concern in the subject with respect to any country.

From Empire to Nation
by Rupert Emerson
(Harvard; $7.75)

In matters of power, it was a Europe-centered world. Relationships between diverse political entities were largely in the unequalitarian pattern of the imperial nexus. The turning topsy-turvy of that world is surely no news. The imperial pattern has eroded almost completely. The equalitarian usages of diplomacy have taken its place as once-colonial entities have emerged by dozens into juridic statehood. No development of modern times exceeds this in complexity and importance, and dealing with the consequences will tax our intelligence for generations to come.

I know of no way of enhancing one's general grasp of the phenomena better than by reading Rupert Emerson's *From Empire to Nation*. Its theme is "the rise of nationalism among non-European peoples as a consequence of the imperial spread of Western European civilization over the face of the earth" – a topic of enormous scope. Tackling it required Emerson to throw his "scruples to the winds" in order to "search for uniformities on the grand scale." He has succeeded with distinction. The treatment is divided into five major aspects: the historic background of the proliferation of states, the basic character of nationhood, democracy as a goal and a stumbling block among the emerging states, the meaning and the paradoxes of self-determination, and the problems of the new states in relation to the large issues of peace and the political character of the world ahead. Each of these

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topics is dwelt upon in chapters ranging from two to six in number and making independent sense. The book draws upon Dr. Emerson's thoughtful work on imperialism and nationalism in his Harvard courses. This is not a neat, clever, or dogmatic book. It is not an exercise in exhortation or prophecy. Thoroughness, judiciousness, and breadth are its impressive qualities.

The proportions applied by Emerson are of great relevance to Americans trying to understand the world about them. The national habit has been to be against imperialism, to regard all peoples and cultures as endowed with a political capacity needing for fulfillment only the removal of alien dominion, and to think of successful nationhood as the inevitable concomitant of independence. In more recent times the tendency has been to persuade ourselves of the basic efficacy of economic development in building political character – as if helping with some production problems automatically redresses deficiencies in identity, allegiance, and authority within the emerging of political societies. Another faddish formula has been to vest hopes in elites, usually conceived of in bureaucratic terms – just as if there were invariably a cast ready to come on stage knowing all the lines necessary to bring things to happy conclusion. Finally, we have sold ourselves again and again on the concept of the strong man – usually a figure from the military endowed with some supposedly incorruptible talent for putting matters straight.

Emerson takes us beyond these easy, happy answers with somber and sophisticated appreciations of the depth and difficulty of the problems characteristic of many of the new states. It is his "inclination to fear that the task of bringing Asian and African societies into a modern Western-style world . . . will be long and hazardous, accompanied by almost as much backsliding as advance" – and one must ask, in view of Emerson's general appraisal, why the backsliding might not even exceed the advance. As for the hopes placed in economic measures – to Emerson "the earlier experiences of non-Western peoples in their efforts to nationalize and industrialize their societies is not encouraging, and the brief postwar record is spotty at best." The leadership required in establishing independence carries "no guarantee of ability to perform another and quite different job" of nation-building and economic development after independence, he reminds us, though he accepts the proposition that "the basic social changes which economic development calls for can only be got across to the people by the politician and not by the expert or bureaucrat."

A wise Asian friend with whom I discussed the book made this appraisal, in which I concur: "Emerson is one American scholar who tries not to project his own hopes or his own society and its values but to understand the impact of nationalism and industrialization from the viewpoint of a non-Western society in the ordeal of trying to become a nation without quite knowing how. He has a compassionate insight into the dilemmas of elites whose capabilities fall short of their responsibilities and aspirations. He understands what a hard business it is to succeed as a state. He has not given us the answers, but he has surely done well in identifying the problems."

The Man Behind the Blue Books

by Gerald W. Johnson

A fascinating question is raised by this book, to wit: why wasn't E. Haldeman-Julius a greater man? He had wit, style, learning, courage, energy, business genius and contacts with practically everybody whose reputation extended beyond the county line. Yet he is not important.

You will not discover why from this book, a compilation of Haldeman-Julius' best writing, made by an ardent admirer. Most of it is very good indeed,

The World of Haldeman-Julius
Compiled by Albert Mordell
Foreword by Harry Golden
(Twayne; $4)

some of it splendid. For the most part it deals with trivia, but so did Elia, the immortal; that is not the answer. The weightier part, the literary and musical criticism, is intelligent, even though devotees of jazz and "advanced" composition will be enraged by its conservatism. All told, it is a book of witty, shrewd, and highly stimulating comment on phases of American life familiar to most of us and lucidly presented even when they deal with matters familiar only to a restricted group.

The man did count for something, but as a publisher, rather than as a thinker and writer. His Little Blue Books demonstrated to the trade that there is money in cheap reprints of good literature provided they are shrewdly merchandized; but to call him the progenitor of the modern paper-back is going too far. That distinction belongs to Pocket Books as regards the merchandizing and to the British outfit, Penguin, as regards the insistence on quality.

But Haldeman-Julius stands alone in

Reviewers acclaim

The Other Journey

POEMS NEW AND SELECTED

by Katherine Garrison Chapin

"The title poem, in varied forms, is truly possessed poetry, with a fine sweep of thought, picture and emotion."—ROBERT HILLYER, *New York Times*

"Delicate, serene, assured."—IRIS ORIGO, *New Republic*

"Restraint, compassion, integrity, dignity—these are the qualities most notable."—SAMUEL FRENCH MORSE, *Virginia Quarterly Review*

"Rich imagery shorn of the extraneous." — PEARL STRACHAN HURD, *Christian Science Monitor*

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one respect. He could and he did avail himself of questionable traits in his customers to accomplish a praiseworthy end. Moralists cite with disgust the story of how he produced a life of Henry VIII and sold only 5,000 copies; but when, without altering a line of the text, he changed the title to *The Story of a Lustful King*, he sold 300,000. But what of it? If a hint of dirt in the title trapped the boobs into reading a good book, still, they read a good book, and it may be plausibly argued that civilization was to that extent advanced.

Yet cynicism it certainly was and there is probably the explanation of why Haldeman-Julius never attained the first rank, or even a very high rank as a social and political philosopher. The perfectibility of man may be an exploded theory, but the indefinite improvement of man is not. On the contrary, it is the basic theory of the whole American system, political and social, and the man who cannot accept it remains a little alien, something of an outsider, who may win laughter and applause, but never high consideration.

While his chatter is delightful, Haldeman-Julius on any matter of prime importance is seldom worth reading. He fancied himself a realist, but in truth he was the predestined victim of every species of political quack except the pious kind. Robert G. Ingersoll had immunized him against the holy men; but otherwise he was wide open, and he fell for as many fantastic idiocies as did the do-gooders whom he despised.

Mr. Mordell therefore was wise in confining the contents of this book to the chatter. As a *causeur* Haldeman-Julius is first-rate; but with that he is through.

Summer Schedule

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear on the following dates:
July 4 August 1 August 22
September 5

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue of September 12.

An Old Revivalist Revived

Elmer Gantry (United Artists)
School for Scoundrels (Continental)

We can be grateful to the film of *Elmer Gantry* for one favor: it doesn't force us to worry further the question of fidelity to the novel from which a picture is made. Here the two share a title, some character names, and a milieu – little else. The loss is not much because it is one of the large company of Sinclair Lewis' poorer novels. But why, then, did Richard Brooks, the screenwriter and director, feel impelled to make a film suggested by it?

The picture does not satisfactorily answer that question. Burdened with credibility-crippling color, it starts with a rush of artificial intensity and sacrifices everything to maintaining it: character, logic of story, viewpoint. One question, out of many, on each of these matters: How did Elmer learn hymns and the Bible so well? Where did he get the vacuum cleaner with which he turns up as a salesman after he has been forced off a freight car? What comment does the picture make about revivalism? After a preliminary warning of its controversial nature (almost always a sign that the bite is going to be toothless), the film takes no stand pro or con and is not even neutral: that is, it doesn't even show clearly the virtues and faults of its subject. It is simply a chop-logic movie story using the revival tent as a setting, overlaid by Brooks with an air of seriousness that is hollow. It opens fuzzily and closes without definition. (Is Elmer going on with preaching?)

Its ill-drawn characters include Gantry, a traveling salesman who joins Sister Sharon Falconer's revival group because he falls in love with her; Sister Sharon, a sincere evangelist who nevertheless does not scruple to have an affair with Elmer; a newspaperman who, although he has come to scoff and remains to scoff, is traveling as Sharon's confidante and buffer; a choir-leader in love with Elmer; a prostitute whom he set on the road to ruin some years before and who blackmails him. Playing these parts are Burt Lancaster, full of energy and emptiness; Jean Simmons, a good actress trying desperately to weave together the patches of character afforded her; Arthur Kennedy, wasting his time; Patti Page, wasting ours; and Shirley Jones, who gives the best performance in the film. Her picture of a slut has a mordant, raucous pathos.

This is one more of the films of the last decade that lay claim to "maturity" because they contain some relatively frank sexual dialogue and tell a carefully trimmed story against the background of a controversial subject. A pity, because evangelism (so much better treated by Thornton Wilder in *Heaven's My Destination* than by Lewis) would make a fascinating film theme. Six years ago I attended a Billy Graham meeting in New Orleans (completely unsegregated, incidentally) and was hugely impressed not only with Graham's power and the audience's appetite for that power but with the convincing purity of Graham in the middle of his slick, streamlined organization. In the best sense it was like a good theatrical performance; scene-builders, advance men, electricians had all done their mundane jobs to provide a chance for the protagonist, free of the world, to lift a group of people free of the world for a few moments.

Graham moved them more than their local ministers just as Heifetz would have moved them more than their local fiddlers. On the other hand there are also successful soul-thumpers who flagellate people into convulsions the way a rock-and-roll band whips adolescents into aboriginal ecstasy. Brooks' film merely gestures lamely at both these interesting aspects and never decides which one it is dealing with or that it is seriously dealing with both. Moreover, it hardly begins to explore the conditions that produced the evangelist in America: for example, the size of the country, which produces a need for a sense of community; the repressions of Anglo-Saxon culture, hungry for re-

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spectable release; and the absence of a state religion, theistic or political.

A noteworthy current phenomenon is the series of English comedies devoted to two characters portrayed by Ian Carmichael and Terry Thomas. These differ from most comic series (Abbott and Costello, *et al.*) in that these two men have created human beings who, although they do not vary much from film to film, are neither clownish figments nor collections of amusing tricks. The names alter, and the settings change from the army to a provincial university to a factory; but the pictures simply continue the adventures of the same willowly, well-bred, pathetic bumbler, the same over-ripe, worldly bounder.

Their new film, *School for Scoundrels*, is an extended revue sketch based on Stephen Potter's poker-faced Lifemanship books. However, except for some antique wheezes about an antique car, the film is not extended too far. The tennis court is the chief arena and is well used. But aside from the laughter provided by the film's incidents, there is the pleasure of watching two expert comedians doing the difficult easily.

Stanley Kauffmann

RECORDS

Performers in Profusion

Van Cliburn's performance of Schumann's Piano Concerto with the Chicago Symphony under Reiner, on RCA Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2455, is something I looked forward to with the greatest interest, since it provided the first recorded testimony concerning his ability to play other music than the Tchaikovsky Concerto No. 1 and Rachmaninov No. 3. And it confirmed my previous suspicion of the New York reviews of his performance of the Schumann work with the New York Philharmonic, in which the reviewers claimed to hear justification of their warnings that his continued preoccupation with the Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov would keep him from learning how to play other music. The fact was that he *had* been playing other music; and the new recording demonstrates that he does know very well how to play it. My first impression of the performance of the Schumann concerto was that it was insufficiently relaxed; but when I listened again I did not have this impression and was instead deeply impressed by the wonderful note-to-note continuity and life that had been so striking in the Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov performances and that apparently are, as I suspected, characteristic of Cliburn's playing of all music. And there is also superb playing by the orchestra.

Another performance that I looked forward to with great interest is the one of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.503 by the Russian pianist André Tchaikovsky with the Chicago Symphony under Reiner, on Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2287. The American pianist Leon Fleisher recorded this work for Epic last year; and his masterful performance makes Tchaikovsky's – with its brutal insensitivity in tone and inflection above *mezzo-forte*; its prettification of phrase below *mezzo-forte* – sound like that of an immature pupil.

Interested in the violin-playing of the young prize-winning Bolivian, Jaime Laredo, I listened to his performance of Bach's Partita No. 3 in E for unaccompanied violin – a dull work except for the superb opening movement and the engaging Gavotte – on Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2414, and can report that he plays it with impressive command of music and instrument that is made attractive by youthful verve and buoyancy. Brahms' Sonata in D minor also is on the records.

Interested also in what Yehudi Menuhin's playing is like these days and even more in the piano-playing of his sister Hephzibah, whom I have always considered the major talent of the family, I listened to their performance of the Franck Sonata on Capitol G-7215 (mono) and SG-7215 (stereo), and was appalled by the coarseness and moment-to-moment discontinuities of Yehudi's tone, tempo and inflection; but even with this handicap Hephzibah achieved playing that was impressive. Brahms's D minor Sonata is on these records too.

Interested further in what Stokowski's work is like these days, I listened to his performances of Debussy's *Nuages* and *Fêtes* with the London Symphony on Capitol P-8520 (mono) and SP-8520 (stereo), and found him playing around worse than ever with swelling sonorities in the one piece and with sensational effects in the other. Ravel's *Rhapsodie Espagnole* also is on the records.

Interested too in Leonard Bernstein's performances of Vivaldi concertos with the New York Philharmonic, on Columbia ML-5459 (mono) and MS-6131 (stereo), I found them to be something to stay away from.

And interested in the new German conductor Sawallisch's performances of Wagner – the Prelude to *Die Meistersinger* and the Rhine Journey and Funeral Music from *Die Götterdaemmerung* – on Angel 35755 (mono) and S-35755 (stereo), I found them lacking the completely and perfectly achieved shaping and the tension and power that are heard in the Toscanini performances.

On the other hand I can report that London OL-50178 (mono) and SOL-60010 (stereo) offer an excellent performance by Thurston Dart with the London Philomusica of all of Handel's fine *Water Music* (not just the familiar suite arranged by Harty).

The one new work I have heard, Britten's Nocturne for tenor, seven obbligato instruments and strings, on London CS-6179 (stereo) only, turned out to be extremely poor: a great deal of contrived arioso without musical interest, with a few striking orchestral effects. The impressive Four Sea Interludes and Passacaglia from *Peter Grimes* are on the reverse side of the record.

B. H. Haggin

Notes on Contributors

Stephen Spender, *the eminent British poet, has spent part of the summer lecturing at Brandeis University.* Charles Burton Marshall *is the author of* The Limits of Foreign Policy.

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Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

The Cuban Crisis

Sirs:

Gerald W. Johnson's "They Invested, All Right" (July 25), an excellent summary of various issues and subtle forces behind them that have created the tense political-economic situation between the Castro government and the present US Administration, exposes particularly well the fundamental contradiction that inheres in Eisenhower's foreign aid scheme, and the increasing maladroitness of its attempt to resolve differences between the two, all to the great edification of the reader. Moreover the analysis and interpretation of the implications forthcoming from the President's recent economic sanctions against Cuba, *i.e.*, the new sugar-quota and attempts to persuade foreign states other than the Communist bloc, from sending crude oil to be processed in Cuba, is a fruitful basket of knowledge Eisenhower ought to munch on.

However, where Mr. Johnson goes awry is in the statement that Castro has been feeding his people nothing but lies. Now these so-called "falsehoods" of Castro's, his unmagniloquently voiced promises, are the already significantly realized concrete goals of more and better housing; more and better medical aid; more and better employment; more and better easily purchasable consumer goods; and more and better schools to eventually educate all. Yet more fundamental still is the idea that material and political autonomy is the necessary contingent of a man's freedom to be the maker of his own destiny; the ultimate goal in which the others are subsumed; a final goal which although in itself the most abstract, still remains that quintessence that distinguishes one society or civilization on the upgrade from one on the downgrade, unable to respond to spiritual-moral crises, to respond to challenges of to be or not to be.

Marvin T. Feinberg
Chicago, Ill.

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Problems of Population

Sirs:

I read with interest "Contraception and Christian Doctrine" (July 25). I do not claim to have a ready solution to the birth-control problem but recognize it as a very serious one. The world leaders for the most part have avoided it either because they do not view it as such or are wary of public reactions and their own political futures.

Throughout history the earth's population has been on a stop and go basis. In the past, when some part of the earth has reached a relatively high population, something such as a plague or a war has temporarily put a halt to the increase. But now we are in the middle of the 20th Century. Our fantastic advances in medicines have all but eliminated the possibility of a vast plague sweeping the globe. Our terrible weapons of war should eliminate that road. But can they? Here I am speaking of war as a necessity of survival only. Our country, so far, is fortunate to this end; but if preparations are not made now, what is to prevent our country and other countries from following the way of India or China? If we take our present rate of growth and project it over the next 100 years we find this prospect threatening indeed. An entire globe in this over populous condition is not a pretty picture. It can only lead to the end of civilization as men are forced to turn on each other for their very survival.

Our biggest concern at the present is

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preventing a nuclear war brought on by a few who wish to dominate the world. Assuming that this never comes to pass we have a much bigger problem on our hands in over-population.

Thomas H. Marlatt
San Diego, Calif.

Public Money & Private Schools

Sirs:

The correspondence "School Children and the First Amendment" (July 18) continues to overlook a key point in aid to non-public schools. We have made such aid seem a religious issue rather than what it is, a social-educational one. For too long both sides have been arguing over the meaning of the Constitutional prohibition of aiding any religion. Getting to school is not an act of religion; helping children get there is not using public funds to support a religious denomination.

The same is true of the school curriculum itself. Mathematics, spelling, history and geography, science – these are not religious subjects. Perhaps one seventh of the parochial school teacher's time each week is given to teaching religion. The rest is given to subjects found in the curriculum of an ordinary public school.

Thomas E. McDonnell
Bellarose, N. Y.

Sirs:

I have detected a curious inconsistency among those who oppose the use of any government funds for support of denominational schools. You quote the *Everson* majority opinion [of the Supreme Court] that neither a state nor the federal government "can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another." Now, I cannot recall a single protest being raised about World War II veterans using the GI Bill to attend denominational schools. True, the veteran could use the GI Bill to attend a state school or a nondenominational private school; but he could also elect to use the GI benefits for his education in a denominational school . . . And there is no question about church-related schools being aided by the influx of veterans; dozens of these schools, which were tottering on the brink of bankruptcy, were "saved" by the GI Bill.

I fail to see any difference between this kind of aid to denominational schools and the use of federal funds for bus transportation.

Edward P. J. Corbett
Omaha, Nebraska

Muñoz Marín for the Cabinet

Sirs:

Your recommendation (July 18) of Puerto Rico's Muñoz Marín for Secretary of the Interior is a commendable an exciting one.

Not only would the Cabinet get an able and dynamic member, but such an appointment would go far in confirming the fact of Puerto Rico's permanent association with the United States.

Frank Otto Gatell
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Movies – No Better than Ever

Sirs:

About the Kauffmann-Updike debate (July 25): Big Daddy would say "Bull." Movies (if one has any brain at all – who in his right mind would go to see "Ben Hur" for example) – are, 1) relaxing, 2) air-conditioned, 3) cheap (to the consumer, that is), 4) low-cal, sugar-free, non habit-forming, in other words, 5) harmless.

Please don't write to me about the "cumulative effect of false values on our culture," etc., etc. Anyone who takes movies seriously would take *anything*, including tooth paste ads, seriously.

Natalie Roth Meyers
Pittsburgh, Penna.

Who is Trivial and Shallow?

Sirs:

I don't question Frank J. Warnke's comments on Gilbert Highet (July 18); but I do dissent from his statement that Richard Rodgers is inferior to Samuel Barber as a composer because he is trivial and shallow – and presumably because Barber is serious and deep. I contend that there is value in Rodgers' light songs for *Pal Joey* and *The Boys From Syracuse*, but none in Barber's unoriginal and eclectically imitative serious music.

B. H. Haggin
New York, N.Y.

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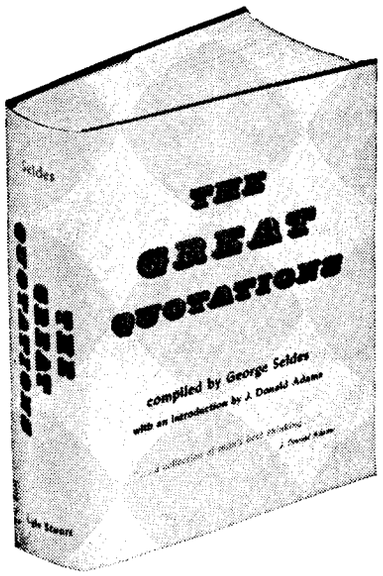
A Message From George Seldes

Dear Friends and Former Readers of IN FACT:



When I wrote my hail and farewell in 1950 I hoped for new financing and a new plan of publishing, but the times were full of fear and anxiety, and now fortunately other publications are filling the void.

I have spent the best part of the decade in preparing a book which my experience with IN FACT readers taught me is a vital necessity. In my attack on censorship and suppression I had learned that even today, and even in free and democratic America, the words and ideas of great men are still feared -- and still omitted -- and notably in universally accepted, most popular and most familiar anthologies.

The quotations of liberals and radicals and all on the "Left," including Jefferson and Adams (in their views on politics and religion) and even conservatives such as Washington himself, are so universally omitted in books pretending to fairness and completeness, that I am forced to believe that these patriots as well as Tom Paine, and our first Free-thinker-Publisher, Ethan Allen, have been deliberately censored and suppressed. I have been amazed by quotations from them, and from hundreds of others, which I have authenticated.

I have now collected, edited, and indexed what I believe are all the great quotations of all time. I have omitted the 80 to 90% or more of the material in the standard volumes. I do not think that I have used 5 or 6% of the quotations you will find in any other volume.

And, although I have emphasized liberty and democracy, new truth on freedom, free speech and free minds, it does not mean that I have omitted anything important, even the anti-humanitarians, the dictators, tyrants, authors of terror and genocide. My one test has been greatness. There has been no moral -- or any other form of censorship.

From the more than 100,000 letters I received from IN FACT readers I have a feeling you will value this book as much as I do. I think it is the best contribution I have made in my lifetime.

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